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**SOURCE**

1. Having read a number of publications which were and are still being edited by the emigree, we ascertain that amongst the Ukrainian emigre movement there is some confusion with regard to some very important questions concerning the ideological character and political program of the liberation movement in the Ukraine. To make these matters clear and to put an end to the deliberate or unconscious twisting of the truth concerning the liberation movement, the Provision of the OUN in the Ukraine considers it absolutely necessary to make the following statements:

a. The basic purpose of our struggle is the building of an Independent United Ukrainian State (USSR). We regard the national State as the form of organizational life of a nation which should secure the best conditions for an all-round development of the nation's spiritual and material forces, to secure her right place among other nations and the most effective participation of the nation in all international activities, as well as in the process of creating universal human values. Only through the building of their own independent state, will the Ukrainian nation bring to an end, once and for all, her status of an enslaved nation, and enter the family of free and equal nations on an equal footing with the rest.

b. We are opposed to all kinds of unions and federations, because, in practice, they turn out to be an enslavement of some nations by others. We believe in the right of every nation to its own national independence. We consider that the best form of organizing international relations is by a system of free national states and by the close friendship and collaboration between all nations which must be entirely voluntary and based on equality. This is why we are fighting so resolutely to split the USSR into free and independent states of all the nations which form a part of it. Such a reconstitution of the USSR would correspond to the deepest longings of all the enslaved nations

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the USSR would correspond to the deepest longings of all the enslaved nations of the USSR, as is proved by their heroic fight for liberation. Such a reconstitution of the USSR would also correspond to the most vital interests of all freedom-loving humanity.

- c. In the struggle for the Independent United Ukrainian State, we have relied most of all on the strength of the Ukrainian nation. By this we mean the national consciousness and political maturity of the nation, always active and ready for the greatest sacrifices, a nation united around her organized and leading political forces guided by strong, united leadership. Only by relying on its own strength, can the Ukrainian nation save itself from national, spiritual, and physical destruction and achieve freedom by taking advantage of favorable circumstances for building up her own state.
- d. We want to wage this war of destruction against the USSR and Russian-Bolshevik imperialism in alliance with all the nations of the world. This is the natural outcome, not only of our ideological and political views, but also of our deepest conviction that such an alliance is dictated by the highest political necessity, in that it represents the most vital interests of all nations. Russian Bolshevik imperialism is the mortal enemy, not only of the Ukrainian nation, but also of all the nations enslaved by the USSR and all the enslaved nations of Eastern, Southeastern, and Central Europe, and China. And today it threatens to enslave and terrorize all the nations of the world. Freedom, independence, and culture can only be saved and final peace secured through the speedy destruction of the USSR and Russian Bolshevik imperialism. A single front of nations which are either enslaved or endangered by Russian imperialism has today become a burning necessity. To be indifferent, to ignore all this, and to fail to make practical arrangements may have fatal consequences for everyone.
- e. We think that, under the present circumstances, the Ukrainian nation, like all the enslaved nations of the USSR, will be able to build her own state by means of a revolution, by being prepared for a revolution. The Russian regime in the Ukraine was imposed by force, is maintained by force, and can only be overthrown by force. Any ideas of changes by evolution inside the USSR, or changes brought about by moral or political pressure from without, for instance, the pressure exercised by the United Nations Organization, we regard as naive or complete ignorance of Bolshevism. We also consider unrealistic the view that the revolutionary tactics lead to great and unnecessary sacrifices. The Bolshevik system, by its very nature, cannot do without sacrifices and millions are being condemned to death even if no actual fighting is taking place. The revolutionary struggle does not lead to unnecessary sacrifices, but it does make sacrifices which are, in any case, inevitable under the Bolshevik regime. The revolutionary character of the underground struggle in the Soviet countries seems to be the only right one, if only because under the present conditions it is the only possible one. All other methods of struggle will end in failure, as was demonstrated so clearly in the failure of the tactics of legal opposition in the countries of Central and Southern Europe. The success of the liberation of the Ukrainian nation clearly proves the political suitability and the correctness of the revolutionary tactics of this struggle.
- f. We consider it a gross oversimplification to consider that the revolutionary liberation struggle in the Ukraine is limited to individual and group terror. The present struggle has been organized on all levels of national life and in all sectors, political, economic, and cultural, and the struggle continues to preserve the national, spiritual, and physical forces of the Ukrainian nation. Military activity is only one of the facets of the widespread struggle.
- g. We are fighting to have the international organization of the Ukrainian state based on healthy democratic principles. We stand for really free elections, for freedom of political and social organizations, for a real freedom of speech, writings, meetings, religion, and convictions, for an independent political system, and for true protection of the rights of man. We believe that a healthy democratic order creates the best conditions for the universal development of the creative forces of the nation and of the individual, that it creates a healthy atmosphere for the nation's high political ideas, prevents the formation of anti-national cliques and classes, helps towards internal regeneration with as little pain as possible, and upholds the dignity and the value of human beings. At the same time we are against a decadent democracy which

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leads to an impotent state government, to the putting of party interests before those of the nation, to a decline of political culture, the demoralization of the nation, and to the undermining of the very foundations on which a healthy society and democracy are built, all of which leads to the enslavement of the nation or to a totalitarianism inside the country.

- h. As to the social order of the Ukrainian state, we stand for a classless society, which we interpret as a society without exploiters and exploited, a society of free peasants, workers, and working intelligentsia. Experience has proved that the exploiting classes may be formed under the private ownership system, but also under the system of socialization of the means of production; for, as soon as political democracy declines, the nation ceases to govern and its place is taken by one totalitarian party. This is why we object to the return of capitalism to the Ukraine and are in favor of destroying the Bolshevik system of exploiting industry, transport, banking, and the kolkhoz system of agricultural economy. We wish to build our classless society on the State or communal ownership of the means of production on the one hand, and, on the other, on political democracy which would exclude the possibility of the existence of exploiting classes, either of capitalist or Bolshevik types.
- i. We are against identifying ourselves with all sorts of doctrines or theories. Our ideas and political conceptions spring not from any doctrines but from the real needs and necessities of the Ukrainian nation and are based on the progressive tendencies of the contemporary world. The fact that these ideas and conceptions are accepted by the Ukrainian nation, that they bring us direct and real successes in the present struggle and find a lively echo among other nations is the best proof of the practicability and rectitude of these ideas and conceptions.
- j. Although conscious of the great contribution of the OUN towards the creation and development of the UPA, we recognize the necessity for the UPA to be above any party. When we mention the fact that our organization has created and strengthened the UPA army, protected her politically, armed her ideologically, and reinforced her ranks (more than 50 percent of the UPA are members of the OUN), we do so for the sake of historical veracity and not in order to monopolize the UPA for ourselves. The UPA belongs to the whole nation, as people of various political convictions formed its ranks, the masses of the nation from every part of the country and not only members of the OUN. The UPA is the armed instrument of the whole nation and not of one party only; it is an all-national armed insurgent force, centralized under one command, and not a union of storm troops of various parties. The members of the OUN in the UPA are subordinate, not to their own party cells but, like the rest of the UPA, they are under the command of the UPA. Because of the type of warfare in which we are engaged, all members of the OUN who are permanently underground carry arms.
- k. Subscribing to democratic principles, regarding the UPA as being above all parties, and desiring the union of all active independent Ukrainian forces, the OUN in July 1944 joined the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation, which took over the functions of supreme leadership of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. From that moment UHVR has gained great authority among the Ukrainian nation. The uniform boycotting of the Bolshevik elections to the Supreme Soviet in 1946 and to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in 1947 has provided the manifestation of the trust and support of the UHVR by the Ukrainian national masses. Members of the UHVR courageously share the fate of the Ukrainian nation and many of them have fallen on the field of battle. The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists continues to recognize and support the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation in the same way and to the same extent to which it is being recognized and supported by the Ukrainian national masses. We are convinced that, with good will, all the active, independent Ukrainian parties which have so far abstained could join the UHVR.

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The first General Meeting of the UHVR has clearly foreseen this possibility of including in the UHVR representatives of all these independent parties which will come to life in the future and which will recognize the rightness and usefulness of the UPA struggle. We welcome every healthy union of the Ukrainian independent parties outside the UHVR. But if such a union implies a slighting of the UHVR or tries to exclude the UHVR or oppose it, we believe such a union to be of short duration and an offspring of the emigre movement without the right to act in the name of the fighting Ukraine.

2. The Provid of the OUN in the Ukraine believes that the above mentioned affirmations will help to clarify to the entire emigre movement the ideological political attitude and tactics of our organization in the Ukraine and our views with regard to questions so widely discussed by the emigres as the UPA and the UHVR.
3. The Provid of the OUN in the Ukraine expects that all the Ukrainian political parties in exile will accept our statements seriously and judge them truly and impartially.

1 October 1949

Ukraine, in the underground

The Provid  
of the Organization of  
Ukrainian Nationalists in the  
Ukraine

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